W.E.B. DuBOIS: CHINA—THE MIRACLE OF HUMAN NATURE TRANSFORMED . . . P. 6

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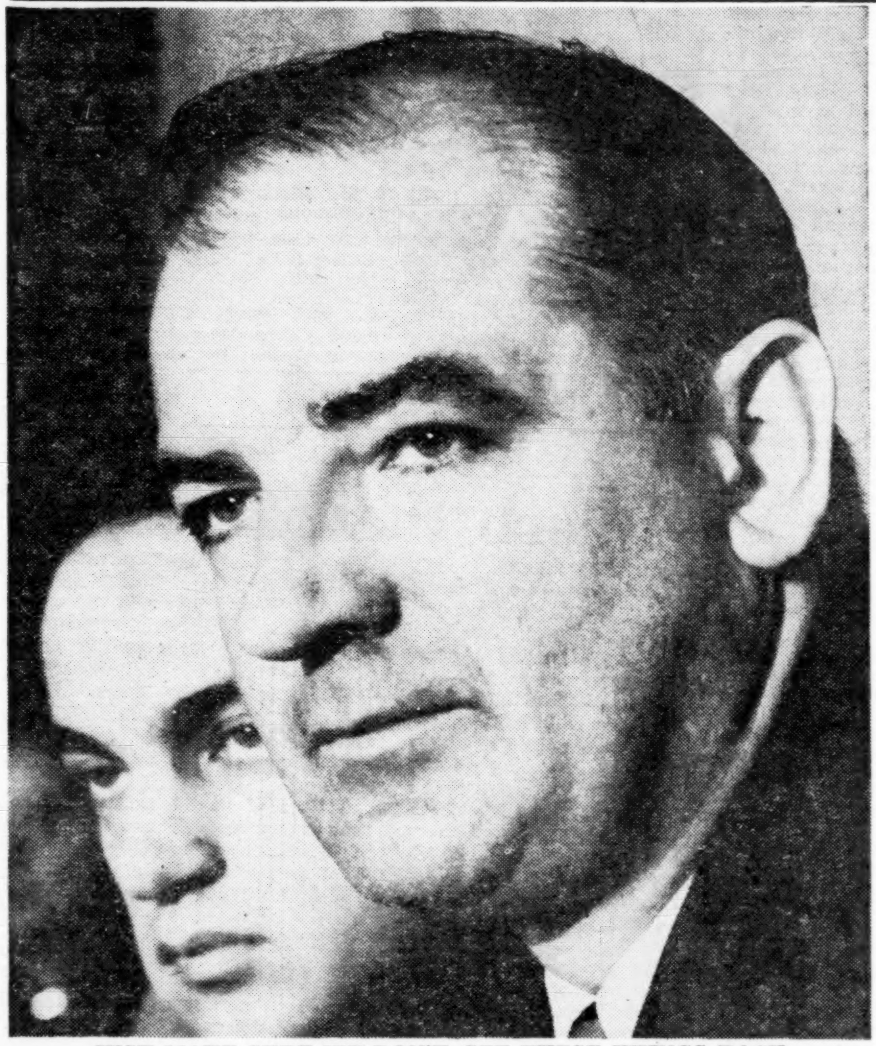

JUST MAKE SURE WE DON'T GET THESE THINGS BACK

But there's a fair chance we will if the mindless members of the U.S. Senate push through the curb-the-Court bills. For what the bills do, see right. For what you can do, see Report to Readers, p. 2.

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN PERIL

Only a mass protest can halt Senate bills to curb High Court

AS THE LEGISLATIVE battle lines have taken shape in Washington, it becomes increasingly apparent that the highly-touted "liberal" 86th Congress may well become the grave digger of several cherished civil liberties only recently revived by the Supreme Court.

In the last Congress measures to overturn the Court's decisions failed of passage by only the narrowest of margins. The House passed a bill to restore states' authority in "sedition" cases by a 241-155 margin; the Senate, in the waning days of the session, killed the measure by one vote, 41-40.

With House passage almost assured again in the current Congress, major attention has centered on the Senate. Foes of the Court have launched an all-out campaign to wipe out their one-vote deficit and restore several of the more onerous Cold War restrictions on constitutional rights.

EASTLAND MOVES: The anti-Court campaign took on momentum last Feb. 24 when the House of Delegates of the American Bar Assn. passed a resolution condemning 24 Supreme Court rulings as harmful to the national security. Soon after, Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) introduced seven bills "to carry out the ABA recommendations." Companion measures had been introduced in the House by Chairman Francis E. Walter of the Un-American Activities Committee, Chairman Howard W. Smith of the Rules Committee, and others.

In the Senate, Eastland appointed a subcommittee of two—Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) and Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) — to conduct hearings on more than a dozen measures. With the hearings out of the way, the path is now being cleared for full committee approval, Senate debate and a vote on several measures sometime in August before Congress takes its summer recess.

WHAT THE BILLS DO: The bills receiving the major push by a coalition of segregationist Southerners and security-haunted Northerners are the following:

1. S. 3 would reverse the Court's 1956 decision in the Nelson case. The Court ruled that the Federal Smith Act pre-empts the field of "anti-sedition" legislation, depriving state enactments of validity.

Prior to the Court's ruling, Steve Nelson had undergone trial in both Pennsylvania and Federal courts on essentially the same charge. The House version of the bill contains a provision explicitly aimed at reinstating proceedings against Nelson. It would also enable the states to pass legislation aimed at un-

(Continued on Page 4)

Herblock in Washington Post

"Let's have a look at those securities."

GENEVA MEETINGS NOW PRIVATE

Bonn and Washington talking tougher; Moscow in warning

By Kumar Goshal

THE BIG FOUR foreign ministers began their secret sessions appropriately enough high in the sky, in the plane carrying them back to Geneva from Washington after John Foster Dulles' funeral.

As the foreign ministers continued their private meetings on land, the news from several capitals indicated a sharpening of the East-West issues. There were reports of Bonn's increasing intransigence, Washington's ceaseless preoccupation with more missile bases and the nuclear arming of its allies, and a new Moscow warning against these provocations, together with further proposals to relax tensions. From Washington also there came indications of another agonizing reappraisal of U.S. foreign policy, as well as the Pentagon's adamant opposition to a nuclear test ban.

"NOBODY KNOWS": Most diplomats in Geneva were reported (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** May 28) to be in favor of an interim East-West agreement on West Berlin, based on reducing Western garrisons in the city and tempering radio broadcasts beamed to East Germany and East Europe. Columnist Walter Lippmann reflected the views of many when he suggested (**New Republic,** June 1) a

(Continued on Page 4)

In this issue

THE FALLOUT MENACE
New Data offered . . . . p. 3

GREAT TRAIN ROBBERY—II
Why passengers suffer p. 5

JAPAN'S WESTERNIZATION
A report from Tokyo . . p. 7

FOR EQUAL RIGHTS
Ernestine Rose's story . . p. 8

LETTERS ABOUT BOOKS
The readers write . . . . . p. 9

JOSEPHINE BAKER
See The Spectator . . . . . p. 12

RECALL ELECTION MAY BE TURNING POINT

Little Rock voters retire three school segregationists

By Louis E. Burnham

SOME DAY IN THE FUTURE, when historians get around to summing up the battle for school integration in the South, they may record May 5, 1959, as the beginning of the end of the agony of Little Rock.

On that day the three segregationist members of a hopelessly stalemated school board dismissed 44 teachers whose opposition to integration they regarded as somewhat less than ardent. Though the three moderate members of the board walked out of the meeting, thus depriving it of a quorum, the segregationists, led by chairman Ed McKinley, were determined to make the dismissals stick.

But they reckoned without their hosts, the Little Rock electorate that had put them in office last December. Public response was instantaneous and unprecedented. The extent to which the backers of Gov. Orval Faubus' educational policies had over-reached themselves was indicated by the fact that the movement which rose to oppose them was led by prominent bankers, businessmen and professionals.

STOP THE PURGE! Two days after the firings, 179 of this company met in the state's biggest bank and formed STOP, the Committee to Stop This Outrageous Purge. They immediately circulated petitions for an election to recall the three Faubusites on the board. Within a few days they had collected 3,000 more signatures than the 6,000 required by law.

The Ministerial Alliance and the Little Rock chapter of the American Assn. of University Women condemned the purge. The Parent-Teachers Assn., which had maintained a hands-off position on other issues in the integration fight, called the firings high-handed. The faculties at Central High and all-Negro Horace Mann High voted unanimously to censure the

(Continued on Page 10)

John Foster Dulles

ERWIN, TENN.

Well done, thou tough old propagandist and faithful valet of Standard Oil. Thou hast put over on the American people thy Big Lie techniques—even unto the grave.

Ernest Seeman

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

This man deprived millions of people of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Harry Fries

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The death of John Foster Dulles, promoter of evil, raises the question who, if anybody, is responsible?

John himself, a Godly man—and other Christians—must conclude God was responsible for the evil John Foster wrought.

Not believing there is a father in heaven upon whose shoulders both good and evil rest, I must look elsewhere. Nor can I be so infantile as to shift the responsibility to Dulles himself.

Shall we shift it to the people of the United States in their entirety? That is where it lies—but not quite.

This morning one could have taken a jet plane from New York City just after breakfast and arrived in Los Angeles in time for lunch. In our privately-owned car, we could do it in a week; by horse and buggy, perhaps in a year; by ox-cart, never.

In a mid-twentieth century world closely united by transportation, radio and more each day by television, we are imprisoned by a social and economic system as outdated as the ox-cart. We spend our substance on weapons to destroy our own family—for if the modern world of science has proven anything, it is that mankind is of one family. Our outmoded system does not even permit us—the American people—to be Christians, though we would truly love to be Christians.

All our lives are polluted by something more poisonous than strontium 90: the pollution is the system; the source of evil—at the depth of the pool of evil—is greed.

Greed and love of humanity cannot coexist.

Clemens France

•

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

The world's worst foreign minister! Those of us who love peace and hate war-mongers should not stop until the rest of the Dulles family is removed from their dangerous and devious exercise of power: Eleanor Dulles in Germany (she was also her brother's private representative in business deals with Bonn) and brother Allen in the Central Intelligence Agency.

Bernard Raymund

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Seoul, May 12—South Korean officials Tuesday confirmed their policy of barring Japanese newsmen from this country. Vice Foreign Minister Kim Dong Jo explained to a reporter that Japanese newsmen are barred "because we are a free country. If they were admitted," he said, "we would not be able to continually check on them and prevent them from writing unfavorable, distorted stories."

—**Asahi Evening News**, Tokyo, 5/13

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week J. R., Tokyo, Japan

For Dr. Auslander

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Just a year ago, a fine doctor and great humanitarian, Dr. Jacob Auslander, died in New York. The year that has gone by has not lessened the sorrow at his passing nor the regret that he is no longer among us to offer his everlasting optimism and guidance.

Please accept the enclosed contribution in his memory from two dear friends.

Mildred Kaufman
Helen Saks

Truman of Hiroshima

JALISCO, MEXICO

Reading 'The Missouri Strut' (Spectator, May 18) I exclaimed that I must send you a note of thanks for all your goodness and loving kindness to us and to all men. At last someone has said a word or two about Truman of Hiroshima—or is it Truman of Korea? That pitiable protégé of Pendergast is so lacking in imagination that he truly knew not what he did.

It is just the fact that Truman is a deep-freeze level or a mink-coat level person, whose chance elevation to power brought such limitless disaster to the world, that points up the need for the urgency of nuclear disarmament; for no one knows whether at this moment there may not be some person of equally limited vision in, or about to enter, one of those critical positions of power from which it is possible to initiate the destruction of half the world.

Hugh Hardyman

The Poskonka Story

QUEENS, N. Y.

A minor footnote to one of the low points of recent history:

The House Un-American Activities Committee claims to have unveiled another self-sacrificing 20th century American-type hero—Joseph Poskonka, a former employe of Armour's in the Chicago Stockyards and member of Local 347, United Packinghouse Workers of America. This union is one of the targets of this particular foray of the HUAC.

Poskonka's story is that he joined the Communist Party on behalf of the FBI and because everyone thought he was a sure-as-shooting Communist he was able to obtain otherwise unavailable information. After the hearing he informed reporters at a press conference that he and his family suffered untold indignities and privations because of his "Communist" reputation.

I know somehting about this because I, too, used to work at Armour's. As a matter of fact, for about two years—off and on—Poskonka was my helper in the sheet metal shop there. May I cite some evidence which gives the lie to his statements?

● The Union leadership, union activists in the maintenance division in which he worked, and leftists in the Union, long suspected that Poskonka was a stoolpigeon. So convinced were they of this that since he was an assistant shop steward and attended almost all union meetings, special efforts were taken at times to keep him ignorant of union plans for fear they might get back, not so much to the FBI, as to the company.

● As long ago as 1953 Poskonka fought the progressive union leadership in an election in the maintenance division. This helped solidify his then growing reputation as an "anti-Communist," not as a "Communist." Since a large percentage of the workers in the maintenance division lived in the same "Back of the Yards" neighborhood as Poskonka, it is unlikely that his neighbors considered him to be a Communist while the people he worked with thought him anti-Communist.

Whatever difficulties Poskonka may have had with his neighbors are unrelated to his testimony.

Name Withheld

Wall Street Journal

". . . five, six, seven, eight, nine. Here we are, Fred. How do you like my little place?"

On over-population

CHICAGO, ILL.

The rabbit indulges in procreation
Reckless of over-population;
Nor ponders on Malthus' theory
As he coos and woos his dearie.
Is it not subversive of rabbits
To have such reckless, jolly habits?

Joyce Gourfain

Stage directions

SPRING HILL, KANS.

Your importance at this critical stage of our history cannot be exaggerated. As I see it our deep desire for a better world can only be realized by close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China. We should understand our weakness and our small contribution to this great world movement for the betterment of humanity; therefore let us lend our efforts to defense and not to criticism of the policies of those working class nations. To my way of thinking, U.S. imperialism is the deadly enemy of mankind.

Otis W. Johnson

Fred D. Warren

LIBERAL, KANS.

Here's a little news item recently carried in the magazine of the Kansas Press Assn. Thought I'd send it in so our people would know:

"Fred D. Warren, 87, editor of **The Appeal to Reason**, nationally circulated Socialist newspaper published at Girard, Kans., from 1898 to 1918, died March 25 at a Fort Scott, Kansas, hospital."

H. E. C.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

HOLLYWOOD PRODUCERS ARE DIZZIER than ever trying to figure out how to make money and show their "loyalty" too. With boxoffice dollars not so plentiful, the producers are haunted by the necessity for films to be at least technically literate to attract an audience. At the same time, the **Hollywood Reporter** and the Motion Picture Alliance for Preservation of American Ideals nag unceasingly for production of more turkeys like the all-time boxoffice flop **The Iron Curtain.**

Republic Pictures responded by changing the name of the current production **Fathoms Deep to The Red Menace.** This is a story about an ex-GI who is seduced by Marxist Molly, an ultra-red redhead, and finally is chased by the FBI through two reels with a bolshevik brunette, Nina Petrovka, until both see the error of their ways and turn all-American. At the end the woman narrator of the picture is piquantly revealed to be the Statue of Liberty in person.

—**Hollywood dispatch to the Guardian, June 6, 1949**

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REPORT TO READERS

Curb the curbers!

IN BETTER DAYS, faced with the kind of onslaught against American liberties now massing in the U.S. Senate, liberal America would have stormed Washington by the many thousands and called Congress to heel. This is what happened to the Mundt-Nixon Bill in 1948. Under the leadership of the late Vito Marcantonio, something like 7,500 people thronged to Washington one weekday morning, formed into delegations, and went after every Rperesentative and Senator they could corner. When the Senate Office Building guards got a little tough and tried to make everybody queue up in the corridor, a lady who objected to being pushed hauled off and slammed a guard with her handbag.

Turned out she was not a member of any delegation, but a Senator's secretary. Otherwise the only trouble in town that day came from a couple of red-hatted conventioneers trying to paint the capital red. So with this minimum of force and violence, the Mundt-Nixon bill was killed; and we had Marc and 7,500 orderly Americans to thank for keeping liberty secure in America in '48.

Then, in 1950 when Marc was fighting for his political life against a Democratic-Liberal-Republican coalition in his home district, the McCarran Internal Security Act was passed. Liberty has had rough going ever since, and the Supreme Court in recent years has assumed the role of defender against the excesses of repression.

NOW IS THE TIME for all good citizens to come to the aid of the defense. Last year's bills to "curb and bridle" the Supreme Court (the choice of words is Senator Eastland's) were killed by the narrow squeak of a 41-40 vote in the Senate.

No Senator should fail to hear from his constituents immediately with the best arguments you can offer for killing this year's anti-Supreme Court bills. Only a handful of Senators have thus far shown the will to fight this year's bills, and even these need encouragement. Among these are Carroll, Colo.; Case, N.J.; Clark, Pa.; Cooper, Ky.; Douglas, Ill.; Hennings, Mo.; Kuchel, Calif.; Langer, N.D.; McNamara, Mich.; Morton, Ky.; Young, O. If we have left anyone out, no matter; everybody has two Senators; your two should hear from you forthwith.

YOUR SENATOR may have missed the protest of 35 professors from the law schools of Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Pennsylvania and Yale universities. They said, in a statement applauded by the N.Y. **Times:**

"No one of these bills seems to us to strengthen the democratic system they are intended to protect. On the contrary, in combination they seem to us to jeopardize many of the values most highly cherished on a free society."

The dean of the Univ. of Pennsylvania law school, Jefferson B. Fordham, had this particularly to say concerning the American Bar Assn. proposals for Supreme Court "reform":

"I am glad to record the opinion that instead of being charged by the organized bar with reaching decisions inimical to our internal security, the Supreme Court should be warmly applauded by the profession for its fidelity to the substantive and procedural safeguards of the Bill of Rights.'"

And Judge Stanley H. Fuld, of the N.Y. State Court of Appeals, said this: "It is a delusion to think that the nation's security is advanced by the sacrifice of the individual's basic liberties."

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas wrote in last month's **Columbia Law Review:**

"There is tremendous power in those who dare to be free. A nation gets untold strength when every community knows that its courts are not agents of passion, that justice is administered impartially."

WE JOIN with the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in asking that you write or visit your two Senators urging them to oppose all of the bills aimed at overturning the Supreme Court's civil liberties decisions. The address, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., will reach any Senator.

—**THE GUARDIAN**

One down

PORTLAND, ORE.

I am very pleased to report that the bill to eliminate negative loyalty oaths for Oregon civil service positions has been passed by both houses of the legislature.

The legislators received a great deal of favorable mail for this bill, and I wish to thank those GUARDIAN readers who contributed toward this significant victory for civil liberties.

Felix V. Moment

Report on Tibet

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

My greetings and thanks to Miss Strong for her so clear and understandable explanation of what is going on in Tibet. **B.B.**

COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY ASKED

More scientists challenge distortion of fallout risk

By Robert E. Light

EACH ROENTGEN of radioactivity absorbed from fallout from bombs already exploded will shorten a person's life by ten to 12 days and will cause 180-640 cases of leukemia in the U.S. If nuclear bomb tests continue at the same rate as during the last five years, the effects will multiply eight times. But if explosions proceed at the 1957-58 rate, effects will increase almost 25-fold; an average life will be shortened by two years and 16,000 leukemia cases will occur in this country.

These calculations, based on laboratory experiments, were made by Dr. Douglas Grahn, Atomic Energy Commission geneticist, in an interview with United Press International. Although the story was sent by the news service on its Washington wire to subscriber papers, no New York paper carried the story. The GUARDIAN found it in the Cincinnati **Enquirer** (May 24.) An information official at the AEC's New York office told the GUARDIAN that the papers probably did not print the story because "there are so many speeches of this kind made every week."

UNFOUNDED CALM: Grahn offered other revelations not made every week. He said that radioactivity ages people prematurely because it tends to "increase the amount of supporting tissue around the blood vessels" which "predisposes the organism to physiological systemic failure and premature death." Heart attacks and "strokes" are common systemic failures in the aged.

Other scientists were still reeling from the whirlwind Congressional hearings last month summarizing the latest fallout data. Some took a second look at the reports and found them distorted.

Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, one of the scientists responsible for the first atom bomb, found "shocking" the report of the AEC's General Advisory Committee written after two and one-half days of study. He called for a Presidential committee of inquiry because the GAC said the amount of strontium 90 in food and water "is less of a hazard than the amount of radium normally present in public drinking water" in certain parts of the country. Lapp pointed out that no studies have been made of the biological effects of this drinking water.

THE FULL PICTURE: Four members of the Dept. of Neurology of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in a letter to the N.Y. **Times** (May 17) completed the picture the committee failed to sketch:

La Gauche, Paris

- The committee said: "It is interesting to note that human beings have lived for many generations in parts of the world which have five times or more the background radiation of the U.S."

But, the scientists said, "people in this country living in areas with greater than normal natural radiation show greater rates of abnormal births."

- The committee said: "In order to place the hazard of fallout in proper perspective, it should be pointed out that the amount of total body external radiation resulting from fallout . . . is less than 5% as much as the average exposure to cosmic rays and other background radiation."

The scientists pointed out: "Total body external radiation is misleading as a measure of fallout hazard. It has long been known that ingested strontium 90 is retained and concentrated in certain areas of bone. Recent studies indicate that regions near the 'hot spots' may receive up to 40 times the average dose in the bone."

- The committee said: "The present state of knowledge does not permit a full evaluation of the biological effects of fallout."

The scientists said: "The present state of knowledge is adequate to indicate that any addition to fallout would be extremely unwise and that considerable and statistically detectable effects may already have been produced by previous atomic tests."

THE MISSING SCIENTISTS: Others were concerned by what the hearings left unsaid and the scientists not called for testimony. The **New Republic** asked: "Where were the scientists from Minnesota who were worrying about strontium 90 in wheat? Where were the scientists from St. Louis who were collecting baby teeth to check for strontium? Where were the scientists on the U.S. Public Health Service's Natl. Advisory Committe on Radiation who talked of gaps in the AEC's radiation program? Where were the noted geneticists and biologists who have been writing papers warning of the biological damage being produced by fallout? And where were the scientists who have been studying the effects of radiation in Maryland and New York State?"

But through the deceit the Milwaukee **Journal** editorially found the point: "What the Washington hearings emphasized anew was the urgency of reaching agreement to end nuclear tests, or at least confine them to outer space or underground caves so they will not poison the atmosphere."

PRISON PROTEST: In the Western world there were those of varying points of view who came together to pressure the politicians to sanity. In England's Wakefield prison last month, 700 prisoners filed into the mess hall and took their places at the tables. But when the meal was served, they sat stolidly and refused to eat. They told prison officials: "This has nothing to do with any prison grouse. We are protesting against the H-bomb."

Leader of the demonstration was Dr. Klaus Fuchs, son of German Quaker Professor Emil Fuchs. It was revealed at the Congressional hearings for the first time that Dr. Fuchs, along with the late Dr. John von Neumann, is credited with originating the H-bomb. In 1950 he was sentenced to 14 years in prison for allegedly giving nuclear information to the Soviet Union. He is scheduled to be released this summer and it is reported he will join his father in Leipzig, East Germany.

In Bern, Switzerland, the Movement Against Nuclear Rearmament last month handed the government 73,339 petition signatures asking for a popular referendum on arming Swiss troops with nuclear weapons. By the country's constitution, 50,000 signatures make it mandatory for the government to bring the issue to a vote within three years.

MOTHERS PROTEST: A group of mothers from the Washington Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy on May 18 appealed to a Senate Appropriations subcommittee to approve expanded government research on radiation. Mrs. Robert H. Harris, who is expecting a second child in August, told the Senators: "I can assure you that a pregnant woman's normal fears are multiplied by the thought that her unborn child might be deformed by invisible particles coming from bombs manufactured and tested by her fellow men.

"I can't tell you what a mother of growing children goes through when she worries whether she is poisoning her child with radioactivity every time she gives him a glass of milk or a piece of bread."

In Nebraska on June 18 pacifists will begin two weeks of non-violent actions against nuclear missiles. Public meetings will be held in Omaha and Lincoln on June 18-19 and churches will be visited that week-end. From June 22-30 vigils will be held at the entrances to missile bases. Some will stand or sit directly in the entrances as an act of civil disobedience.

CANNOT KEEP SILENT: In a call for support, the pacifists said: "At the Omaha ICBM bases—and wherever war preparations go on—indiscriminate suffering and nameless torture are being prepared for countless men, women and children in our country and in other lands. We do not want to see our own people so afflicted. We believe that we have no right, under any circumstances, to inflict this evil on another people.

"We cannot keep silent. We cannot stand idly by or pass on the other side. We hope our words and actions will move others to speak and act for peace."

PASTOR NIEMOELLER (c.) LEADS 3-DAY "ANTI-ATOM WATCH"
They protest British guided missile base at Dortmund

POLL IS OVERWHELMING

W. German town: 'No nuclear arms'

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

WEDEL IS A TYPICAL German town in Schleswig-Holstein. It has 14,730 registered voters. Many of them work in the Hamburg shipyards; there are also a good number of craftsmen employed in local industries. The majority of the people belong to the Evangelical Church and the local council has a Social Democratic majority. But it also has many supporters of the C.D.U., Dr. Adenauer's Party.

You could find hundreds of towns like Wedel in West Germany, but there is one difference: Wedel has spoken for Germany. It has declared firmly and decisively against the plan to establish nuclear weapons and rocket bases on West German soil. It has given the lie to the generals and the politicians who are backing this policy.

I heard about Wedel when I attended the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the World Peace Movement in Schleswig-Holstein. For one meeting in Hamburg a peace ship sailed up the Elbe with the blue dove flag of the World Peace Movement flying at the mast and the sides of the ship carrying streamers bearing peace slogans. All the way, people on the shore and in other boats waved friendly greetings to show their rejection of the ban on the Peace Movement which has been imposed in the province of Rhine Westphalia.

THE POLL: The following day, there was a meeting at Kiel, with some 500 people packing the hall. And here we heard about Wedel's lead to Germany.

There, 163 volunteers came forward to take a poll of the town on the question of nuclear weapons, atomic bases and the ending of tests. Local council backing for the move was later rescinded, but the volunteers went ahead on their own. They called at every house in the town. Altogether just under 8,000 voters answered the questions. These were the results:

Q. ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF WEST GERMANY HAVING NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

No	7,916	92.99%.
Yes	158	7.01%

Q. ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF ROCKET BASES IN WEST GERMANY?

No	7,441	92.16%.
Yes	399	7.84%.

Q. ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF CONTINUING NUCLEAR TESTS?

No	7,578	93.80%.
Yes	359	6.20%.

The working committee of the Wedel group published the figures with the declaration that the result had shown that as far as the people of Wedel are concerned, they overwhelmingly reject the policy of atomic re-armament, and that on this issue all political and religious differences are superseded. They appealed to the rest of West Germany to follow Wedel's example, so that the people's opposition could be mobilized in time to prevent the nuclear armament of their country.

STRONG MOVEMENT: The newspapers virtually ignored the result of the poll and the appeal of the committee, but a spokesman for Wedel declared that they would find ways of making the result known.

Judging by the speeches, the movement against nuclear arms is gathering strength at rank-and-file level among all sections of the people, particularly in the trade unions. The workers of Hamburg and other industrial towns in the region are beginning to feel the pinch of unemployment, and are linking the fight for peace with the fight for better living standards. Adenauer may refuse to recognize the existence of the German Democratic Republic but the West German workers are beginning to look on trade with the expanding economy of the G.D.R. as one of the ways of protecting their standard of living.

Bon voyage!

AHOY, MATES! We've caulked the good ship's bottom and she's lying swabbed and polished at Pier 83, foot of W. 43d St. (Circle Line—Boat No. 10), ready for the Guardian Boat Ride, Friday evening, June 12, from 7 to 11 p.m. The whole deck will be the Captain's Table when you break open your bully beef and biscuits. There'll be sea-goin' chanties and gals in bell bottom toreador pants. Don't get caught three points off the starboard bow without a ticket. Sign up for the voyage on the Theodora P. right now. See ad p. 9. Up anchor and away, mates!

High Court bills

(Continued from Page 1)

popular minorities, whether political, labor or racial.

2. S. 1305, aimed at the California Yates decision, would tighten the provisions of the Smith Act. The Court ruled that abstract advocacy of forcible overthrow of government is not a Federal crime; it also defined the word "organize" as meaning the formation of a new organization.

The new amendments would punish advocacy "without regard to the immediate probable effect of such action." The word "organize" would be interpreted to mean any action calculated to advance the purposes of a proscribed organization, such as distributing literature, recruiting members, attending classes or discussions of current events, or enlisting support for pending legislation. A companion bill, sponsored by Rep. Walter, has already passed the House.

3. S. 1303 would undo the Court's latest ruling on the right to travel, embodied in the Kent-Briehl cases. The State Dept., according to the Court, does not have Congressional authorization to deny passports for political reasons.

This bill would provide such authorization by permitting the Secretary of State to withhold passports whenever he believes the applicants' travels might injure the interests of the country. The Secretary might act on "confidential" information which he would not be obliged

FRANK WILKINSON

The executive secretary of the Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, has done more than perhaps any other single individual to alert the nation to the dangers of the anti-Court bills. For a month and more he has been traveling about the country visiting ACLU offices, trade unions and citizens groups. He deserves the thanks of every thinking American.

to reveal to the applicant on appeal.

4. S. 1301 would deprive Federal employes of the protection of the First and Fifth Amendments. The Court, in the Slochower decision, ruled it was a violation of due process to fire a public employe solely on the ground that he exercised the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer a question put by a Congressional committee.

The new bill would require every Federal employe to answer every question before any government inquiry regardless of the relevance or the constitutionality of the question.

5. S. 1304 would extend the already cumbersome Federal loyalty-security program to "non-sensitive" jobs. The Court ruled in the Cole case that the Summary Suspension Act of 1950 could only be

Ammunition for the Court fight

LITERATURE DESCRIBING the anti-Supreme Court bills and urging action to defeat them may be obtained from the following organizations:

- Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Av., New York 1, N.Y.
- Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights, 189 W. Madison St., Chicago 2, Ill.
- Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, 617 N. Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles 4, Calif.
- Southern Conference Educational Fund, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.

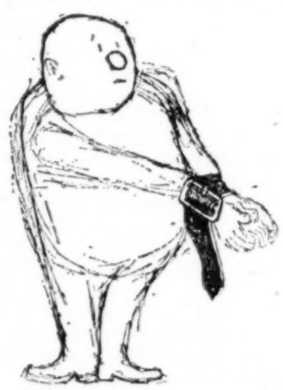
applied to employes in certain "sensitive" agencies.

Under this bill, all employes, performing whatever service in any agency, would be covered by the act.

6. S. 1302 would tighten Government control of aliens awaiting deportation. In the Witkovich and Bonetti cases the Court ruled that aliens awaiting deportation must give information only regarding their availability and not regarding political associations and activities. It also held that an alien's status should be determined only on the basis of his behavior since his most recent entry into the U.S.

The proposed legislation would require such aliens to answer political questions on pain of imprisonment. It also threatens deportation for proscribed political activities engaged in during earlier visits to the U.S.

"CURB AND BRIDLE": The determination behind the sponsors of these bills was summed up by Sen. Eastland in the early days of the Congressional session.



Tim, L'Express, Paris

New Belt Tightening Style

"The time has come," he said, "when the Supreme Court must be curbed and bridled. It is today the greatest single menace to the domestic security and tranquility of this country."

Opposition to the bills has risen from an impressive group of organizations, but has not yet assumed the proportions of a popular mass campaign. Many observers feel that only such a campaign will stop what looks like a reactionary steam-roller in the Senate.

Calling for the defeat of one or more of the measures have been the AFL-CIO, League of Women Voters, American Veterans Committee, NAACP, Americans for Democratic Action, American Civil Liberties Union, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Foreign born committees to hold annual affairs

SUNDAY DINNER can be a cinch June 21 for folks in the Los Angeles area, and June 28 in Greater New York—both courtesy of the Committees for Protection of Foreign Born.

LOS ANGELES: The L.A. Committee will serve an international dinner at its annual Festival of Nationalities June 21 at American-Croatian Hall and Picnic Grounds, 330 So. Ford Blvd. Admission 75c, children free. For information call MAdison 5-2160 or 2169.

N.Y.-N.J.: At Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J., the American Committee holds its fifth annual All-Nations Picnic June 28. Adults, $1; children free. Round trip bus reservations are $1 each, starting from New York City at 10 a.m. and leaving for home at seven. For information and reservations, call or write: ACPFB, 49 E. 21st St., N.Y. 10; tel ORegon 4-5058.

Foreign ministers

(Continued from Page 1)

"politically neutralized" West Berlin under the supervision of UN civilian personnel with the approval of the Big Four and the two German states. Lippmann said that this should oblige the West "to close down [its] propaganda and espionage agencies."

He conceded that this would mean at least "a form of recognition of the East German state" by the West. He said "nobody knows, nobody can know" whether the two Germanys will draw further apart or eventually reunite.

He noted "powerful forces," both West and East, working to keep the two Germanys separate. Therefore, "a general German settlement is not now practical politics [and] a special regime for West Berlin is now necessary."

WHERE WILL HERTER GO? Bonn was not unaware that an interim agreement on Berlin, followed by a heads-of-government conference, would mean Western recognition of the East German government and might lead to further steps to peace. This, in turn, as Lippmann has said, "might very well mean an agreement to stop the nuclear armament of the West German forces," which Chancellor Adenauer so fervently wants.

For this reason the West Germans at Geneva are doing everything they can to block progress. **N.Y. Times** correspondent Drew Middleton reported from Geneva (June 1):

"West Germany's dislike of a summit conference seems to observers here to be about as strong as Britain's desire for one."

France is carrying the ball for West Germany at Geneva. If Secy. of State Herter were to side decisively with Britain, a Berlin agreement could emerge, followed by a summit meeting agreement on an atom-free zone in Central Europe and suspension of nuclear tests, both favored by the British.

BONN HAS THE VETO: But Herter was under pressure from forces in the State Dept. and from the Pentagon, both opposed to a test ban. **I. F. Stone's Weekly** (June 1) noted "an interesting difference" in the summaries of the texts of U.S. agreements to train West German, Dutch, Turkish and Canadian forces in the use of nuclear weapons: "While the agreement with Canada for the transfer of nuclear information and military equipment may be terminated by either party on one year's notice, the agreement with West Germany provides that the pact can be terminated only by agreement of both parties."

If these agreements are approved by Congress, Stone said, the West Germans would have a veto over any atom-free zone in Central Europe "no matter what the Russians may offer in return," since "Bonn is set on having a nuclear West German army." Stone added:

"To conclude such an agreement in the midst of the negotiations now getting underway at Geneva is neither good faith nor good sense."

"LIMITED WAR" THEORY: The Pentagon's views were tersely expressed in a special analysis entitled "The Case Against the Test Ban," in the **Air Force** magazine (May) which Rep. Craig Hosmer (R-Calif.) inserted in **the Congressional Record of April 29.**

This analysis categorically opposed test suspension, citing the need for developing "small combat teams armed with portable nuclear weapons, which would combine the invulnerability of guerrillas with the firepower of divisions . . . against 'brushfire' aggression." It is not difficult to see behind this reasoning the theory of "limited war" to which the Pentagon stubbornly clings.

WARNING IN ALBANIA: Soviet Premier Khrushchev, during his visit to Albania, warned the U.S. against continuing the "cold war." He said rocket bases in Italy and Greece would force the Soviet Union "to set up something against them" in Albania.

He urged instead an atom-free "zone of peace" in the Balkan Peninsula and the Mediterranean basin. (This was endorsed by the two opposition Greek leaders, Sophocles Venizelos of the Liberal Party and Spyro Markenzinis of the Progressive Party).

From an unusual source came new confirmation of the Soviet Union's burning desire for a more relaxed atmosphere. Former New York Gov. Harriman wrote from Moscow (**Times**, June 1): "'Peace' is not a mere political slogan in the Soviet Union. It is a national preoccupation." He was told that even intimate family gatherings begin the traditional toasting with "may there be peace in the world."

CHINA HOLDS KEY: China's miraculous progress and the need for its cooperation for a successful test ban and the lessening of tensions was being recognized by many more prominent figures in the U.S. Even the government-sponsored National Science Foundation was reported to be planning translations of scientific publications from Peking. Especially significant was the May 21 speech on China policy by Clair Engle (D-Calif.) in the Senate.

Engle said that even pro-Chiang Asst. Secy. of State Walter Robertson—just retired—admitted that Peking's participation "would be necessary if any arms inspection system were to be effective." But, Engle added:

"Our China policy for all practical purposes rules out the use of instruments other than ultimate recourse to war. [It] places on us the onus of preventing the relaxation of tensions necessary" to solve the problems of Korean reunification and the status of Taiwan.

ENGLE'S PROGRAM: He urged the following steps as a preliminary to a Peking-Washington understanding: (1) allow the entrance of Chinese correspondents to the U.S. "on a basis of reciprocity"; (2) discuss expansion of trade with China; (3) disavow any "intention of supporting military adventures against the mainland of China"; (4) place the Taiwan issue before the UN; (5) "consider the possibility at some stage during these proceedings," especially if Peking "shows any disposition to meet us halfway," to negotiate "on issues of substance" at the top level.

Engle's speech received support from such Senate Democrats as Morse, Gore, Proxmire, Long and Dodd. But in spite of this growing sentiment, Robertson's successor, J. Graham Parsons, reiterated that the Administration does "not accept . . . as an irredeemable fact that the Communists are in enduring control of mainland China."

The facts of life were having hard sledding in Washington.

THE GREAT AMERICAN TRAIN ROBBERY—II

The railroads' campaign to drive away their passengers

By Frank Bellamy
(Second of three articles)

THE NATION'S RAILROADS, having lost much of their power but little of their arrogance since the robber baron days of the late 1800's, are engaged in large part in a deliberate campaign to drive the public from the trains and lay the groundwork for the total abandonment of passenger service.

More and more members of the American traveling public are reaching that conclusion in the wake of the rapid and unabated disappearance of passenger facilities—trains dropped, stations closed, ferries beached, entire routes abandoned.

The fast erosion of railroad service will not stop, some believe, until the companies have succeeded in forcing all remaining passengers onto already over-trafficked highways and boulevards.

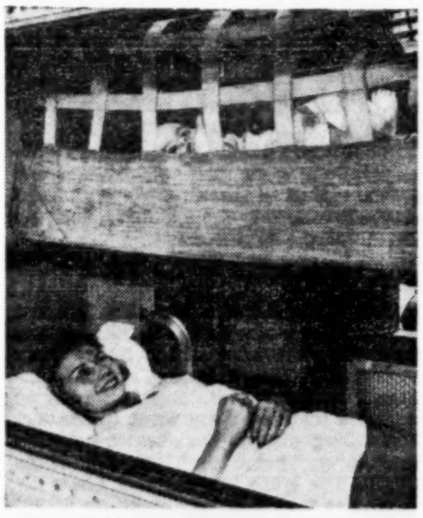
PUBLIC BE DAMNED: The Railway Labor Executives' Assn., which represents all 23 standard rail unions in the country, blames "wholesale and unjustified" abandonments on industry callousness. Its view:

"The railroads have lost all sense of any obligations to the public and are following a course of junking any and all transportation they regard as unprofitable without due regard for the public."

There is strong evidence that a few railroads are engaged in an all-out campaign of sabotage to turn even profitable passenger operations into losing operations in order to justify service slaughters to state regulatory commissions, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and their own stockholders and customers.

Not all lines, of course, are trying to get off the passenger track. Some western roads have made passenger service highly profitable by better promotion, lower fares and more concern for passenger comfort. The Rock Island recently cut round-trip first-class fares 22.2%. Three lines, the Milwaukee Road, Northern Pacific and Great Northern, have made coach tickets good in Pullman cars on certain trains. The Missouri Pacific has lured back passengers by cutting sleeper fares, speeding up trains, and serving budget-priced meals to passengers in their seats.

ABANDONED LINES: Unfortunately, no eastern line, with the single exception of the Baltimore & Ohio, has shown a similar disposition to make things more attractive for its customers. It is in the east, and particularly in New York and New



THE B&O WOOS ITS PASSENGERS
Above, a new Slumbercoach service for mother and baby

Jersey, that passenger service slashes have been most severe.

• The New York Central is seeking permission to drop six passenger trains between Chicago and Cincinnati. In New York it has consolidated 20 commuter trains on its Harlem and Hudson Divisions and abandoned all passenger service on its West Shore Line. It is seeking permission to discontinue West Shore Line service in New Jersey as well.

The N.Y. Central has abandoned all passenger service on its West Shore Line and is still trying to discontinue West Shore Line service in New Jersey as well. Rebellious passengers three years ago wore these pig-like masks in protest, with appropriate comment.

• The Lackawanna, having dropped 82 trains, is petitioning to end almost all shorthaul passenger service for 25,000 commuters in New Jersey.

• The Erie has won permission to drop 91 commuter trains.

• The Jersey Central is threatening its 12,500 daily passengers with a 40% rise in fares as its price of staying in the passenger business at all.

• The Susquehanna has won the right to discontinue 28 more passenger trains of its remaining total of 44.

• The Lehigh Valley has cut 60% of its service and has permission to quit carrying passengers and start operating solely as a freight carrier next year.

TRICKY FIGURES: The extent of the drive against rail passenger service is seen in figures compiled by Charles N. Gerard, a hearing examiner for the New Jersey Public Utility Commission. The figures show that 606 trains were removed from service in the Garden State in the last 16 months. Only one of the state's 12 passenger-carrying lines did not reduce service. And that was the West Shore division of the New York Central, which wants to scrap its train schedules entirely.

No one doubts that the railroads are losing money on passenger services. Why and how much are the only questions.

The 1958 passenger service deficit, according to a preliminary report from the ICC, was $610,000,000. The accuracy of this figure is open to doubt. In the first place, the ICC-calculated deficit includes services which have nothing to do with passengers per se: baggage, U.S. mail, Railway Express shipments, fresh milk, newspapers and the like.

In the second place, the rules by which the ICC separates costs shared in common by passengers and freight trains have come under sharp criticism. An example of a common cost is the expense of maintaining track and bridges over which both passenger and freight trains travel. **Business Week** has estimated (Jan. 18, 1958) that the annual passenger deficit would be cut nearly in half "by the slightly more realistic concept of what [the railroads] would have saved had they run no passenger trains, maintained no passenger stations, kept on their payrolls only those needed to run freight trains."

PROFITS UP: Applying **Business Week's** formula would reduce the 1958 passenger deficit from $610,000,000—the ICC figure—to around $325,000,000. Not that U.S. railroads went this much in the red last year. Quite the contrary. The nation's 52 largest roads actually made a net profit after taxes of $582,565,000. And the picture is much brighter this year. **Railway Age,** industry weekly, reported May 4 that "a study of first quarter 1959 reports of 35 roads shows that their combined net profits were up more than 400% over first quarter 1958."

Why then are so many roads apparently bent on ending passenger service? Why aren't they content to absorb relatively small losses on passengers in large profits on freight? The answer is clearly a desire to maximize profits by skimming off the rich cream—freight—and tossing out the passengers.

Some roads even frown on passenger services which show a slight profit, and have resorted to deliberate acts of sabotage to discourage travelers. Their aim is to turn a slightly profitable run into a deficit operation so as to be able to justify ending the service altogether. A things-must-get-worse - before-they-can-get-better approach. Such sabotage takes many forms. Some samples:

FARE HIKES: Instead of keeping fares within the reach of the average traveler, many railroads, particularly those east of the Mississippi, seem determined to price themselves out of the market. It now costs more to ride a train between New York and Chicago than either a bus or a plane. The bus fare is $27.34, air coach $38.99, and rail coach $41.07. No wonder the railroads are losing business!

ANTIQUATED EQUIPMENT: The Pennsylvania Railroad asked the Pennsylvania Public Utility Commission for permission to drop a Pittsburgh commuter train. The commission refused. "It was then," according to an editorial in the Pittsburgh **Post-Gazette,** "that the air-conditioning and stainless-steel cars disappeared and in their place came two antique coaches, almost as if the 'Pennsy' had deliberately set out to make things unattractive for those commuters still hanging on."

Traffic dropped, the PUC changed its mind and the train was discontinued.

POOR MAINTENANCE: The Railway Labor Executives' Assn. lashed out April 24 in its weekly **Labor** against "the refusal of the railroad managements to provide minimum standards of cleanliness in their passenger coaches, especially those used for commuting service. Roaches, rats and mice have been reported on some of the cars, particularly in the New York Central commuting service."

The **Labor** report added these "shocking examples": "Nails protruding from upholstery; doors on coaches that won't stay closed; seats and toilets broken; no water for flushing toilets; windows 'black with filth'; rain leaking through ventilators; water sloshing on floors from broken pipes. One instance is cited of a woman passenger who 'went through the floor of a rotted coach to her knees in attempting to use a water fountain which was held up only by plastic tile'."

POOR STATION SERVICE: The March 14 issue of **Labor** quoted a Southern Pacific clerk as saying that "many times I have heard ticket agents during the lunch period asking each other what the hell the company expected them to do. People were calling up for reservations, they said, but they couldn't give them any because the company wouldn't let them. They had to abide by their orders."

The clerk added, in **Labor's** words, that "many, many employes could tell of railroads deliberately trying to shut out passengers, but 'they're afraid to talk.' They fear reprisals from management."

DISCOURAGING FIRST-CLASS: In its March 7 issue **Labor** quoted several letters from passengers who said they had been told no first-class seats were available and then, after boarding the train, explored the Pullman and found empty seats and compartments. An Albany lawyer wrote:

"On various occasions during the past 18 months I have tried to obtain first-class space on the train to Buffalo, but was told none was available . . . Nonetheless, in each instance, I bought a first-class ticket, and when I boarded the train I found considerable space was in fact available."

The lawyer also told of what has happened since the Central terminated its contract with the Pullman Co. last summer and set about trying to run Pullman service with its own employes.

"The results have been extremely discouraging," the lawyer said. "In many instances, the sleeping cars were not properly cleaned. Often, there was insufficient linen. Light fixtures were defective. In addition, the Central has discontinued club car service for first-class passengers on many of its trains. These and other facts demonstrate that the Central is deliberately attempting to discourage use of first-class facilities."

POOR SCHEDULING: Ward Allan Howe of the N.Y. **Times,** reporting from Los Angeles March 29, gave "a prime example of why there has been public complaint on service in this region."

The Southern Pacific reduced its run between Los Angeles and New Orleans to one train a day. "Since a secondary train, the Argonaut, was discontinued west of Houston, the Sunset now makes many of its stops, with a consequent longer running time of more than two hours . . .

"In spite of the longer running time and reduction in services, the road still charges $10 extra fare first class and $3.50 extra in coaches on this train. East-bound travelers now reach New Orleans at 6 p.m. instead of 4:30 p.m., thereby just missing the Panama Limited to Chicago and the Gulf Wind to Jacksonville . . .

"D. J. Russell, president of the Southern Pacific, was asked why the Sunset no longer made these important connections in New Orleans. He replied that if this train left Los Angeles earlier as required for connections, it would not get a carload of mail, and that the revenue from that was more important than the inconvenience to a few passengers."

Profits are more important than people—that seems to sum up rail management's attitude on the S.P. line, and most other roads as well.

NEXT WEEK: The case for public ownership.

A REPORT ON A TEN-WEEK VISIT

The vast miracle of China today

By W. E. B. DuBois
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

I HAVE TRAVELED widely on this earth since my first trip to Europe 67 years ago. Save South America and India, I have seen most of the civilized world and much of its backward regions. Many leading nations I have visited repeatedly. But I have never seen a nation which so amazed and touched me as China in 1959.

I have seen more impressive buildings but no more pleasing architecture; I have seen greater display of wealth, and more massive power; I have seen better equipped railways and boats and vastly more showy automobiles; but I have never seen a nation where human nature was so abreast of scientific knowledge; where daily life of everyday people was so outstripping mechanical power and love of life so triumphing over human greed and envy and selfishness as I see in China today.

It is not a matter of mere numbers and size; of wealth and power; of beauty and style. It is a sense of human nature free of its most hurtful and terrible meannesses and of a people full of joy and faith and marching on in a unison unexampled in Holland, Belgium, Britain and France; and simply inconceivable in the United States.

A TYPICAL, IGNORANT American put it this way in Moscow: "But how can you make it go without niggers?" In China he would have said: "But see them work:" dragging, hauling, lifting, pulling—and yet smiling at each other, greeting neighbors who ride by in autos, helping strangers even if they are "niggers"; seeking knowledge, following leaders and believing in themselves and their certain destiny. Whence comes this miracle of human nature, which I never saw before or believed possible?

I was ten weeks in China. There they celebrated my 91st birthday with a thoughtfulness and sincerity that would simply be impossible in America even among my own colored people. Ministers of state were there, writers and artists, actors and professional men; singers and children playing fairy tales. Anna Louise Strong came looking happy, busy and secure. There was a whole table of other Americans, exiled for daring to visit China; integrated for their skills and loyalty.

I traveled 5,000 miles, by railway, boat, plane and auto. I saw all the great cities: Peking, Shanghai, Hankow and its sisters; Canton, Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming and Nanking. I rode its vast rivers tearing through mighty gorges; passed through its villages and sat in its communes. I visited its schools and colleges, lectured and broadcast to the world. I visited its minority groups. I was on the borders of Tibet when the revolt occurred. I spent four hours with Mao Tse-tung and dined twice with Chou En-lai, the tireless Prime Minister of this nation of 680 million souls.

THE PEOPLE OF THE LAND I saw: the workers, the factory hands, the farmers and laborers, scrubwomen and servants. I went to theaters and restaurants, sat in the homes of the high and the low; and always I saw a happy people; people with faith that need no church nor priest and laughs gaily when the Monkey King fools the hosts of Heaven and overthrows the angels.

In all my wandering, I never felt the touch or breath of insult or even dislike —I who for 90 years in America scarcely ever saw a day without some expression of hate for "niggers."

What is the secret of China in the second half of the 20th Century? It is that the vast majority of a billion human beings have been convinced that human nature in some of its darkest recesses can be changed, if change is necessary. China knows, as no other people know, to what depths human meanness can go.

I USED TO WEEP for American Negroes, as I saw through what indignities and repressions and cruelties they had passed; but as I have read Chinese history in these last months and had it explained to me stripped of Anglo-Saxon lies, I know that no depths of Negro slavery in America have plumbed such abysses as the Chinese have seen for 2,000 years and more.

They have seen starvation and murder; rape and prostitution; sale and slavery of children; and religion cloaked in opium and gin, for converting the "Heathen." This oppression and contempt came not only from Tartars, Mongolians, British, French, Germans and Americans, but from the Chinese themselves: Mandarins and warlords, capitalists and murdering thieves like Chiang Kai-shek; Kuomintang socialists and intellectuals educated abroad.

Despite all this, China lives, and has been transformed and marches on. She is not ignored by the United States. She ignores the United States and leaps forward. What did it? What furnished the motive power and how was it applied?

First it was the belief in himself and in his people by a man like Sun Yat-sen. He plunged on, blind and unaided, repulsed by Britain and America, but welcomed by Russia. Then efforts toward socialism, which wobbled forward, erred and lost, and at last was bribed by America and Britain and betrayed by Chiang Kai-shek, with its leaders murdered and its aims misunderstood, when not deliberately lied about.

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS IS WELCOMED TO CHINA
Greeting him are Dr. Teng Hsi-lin, chairman of the Chinese Peace Committee, and Chu Po-shen, (c.) executive secretary of the Assn. for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries.

THEN CAME the Long March from feudalism, past capitalism and socialism to communism in our day. Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and a half dozen others undertook to lead a nation by example, by starving and fighting; by infinite patience and above all by making a nation believe that the people and not merely the elite—the workers in factory, street, and field—composed the real nation. Others have said this often, but no nation has tried it like the Soviet Union and China.

And on the staggering and bitter effort of the Soviets, beleagured by all Western civilization, and yet far-seeing enough to help weaker China even before a still weak Russia was safe—on this vast pyramid has arisen the saving nation of this stumbling, murdering, hating world.

In China the people—the laboring people, the people who in most lands are the doormats on which the reigning thieves and murdering rulers walk, leading their painted and jeweled prostitutes—the people walk and boast. These people of the slums and gutters and kitchens are the Chinese nation today. This the Chinese believe and on this belief they toil and sweat and cheer.

THEY BELIEVE THIS and for the last ten years their belief has been strengthened until today they follow their leaders because these leaders have never deceived them. Their officials are incorruptible, their merchants are honest, their artisans are reliable, their workers who dig and haul and lift do an honest days work and even work overtime if their state asks it, for they are the State; they are China.

A kindergarten, meeting in the once Forbidden City, was shown the magnificence of this palace and told: "Your fathers built this, but now it is yours; preserve it." And then, pointing across the Ten An Men square to the vast building of the new Halls of Assembly, the speaker added: "Your fathers are building new palaces for you; enjoy them and guard them for yourselves and your children. They belong to you!"

China has no rank nor classes; her universities grant no degrees; her government awards no medals. She has no blue book of "society." But she has leaders of learning and genius, scientists of renown, artisans of skill and millions who know and believe this and follow where these men lead. This is the joy of this nation, its high belief and its unfaltering hope.

CHINA IS NO UTOPIA. Fifth Avenue has better shops where the rich can buy and the whores parade. Detroit has more and better cars. The best American housing outstrips the Chinese and Chinese women are not nearly as well-dressed as the guests of the Waldorf-Astoria. But the Chinese worker is happy.

Horizons, Paris

He has exorcized the Great Fear that haunts the West: the fear of losing his job; the fear of falling sick; the fear of accident; the fear of inability to educate his children; the fear of daring to take a vacation. To guard against such catastrophe Americans skimp and save, cheat and steal, gamble and arm for murder.

The Soviet citizen, the Czech, the Pole, the Hungarian have kicked out the stooges of America and the hoodlums set to exploit the peasants. They and the East Germans no longer fear these disasters; and above all the Chinese sit high above these fears and laugh with joy.

They will not be rich in old age. They will not enjoy sickness but they will be healed. They will not starve as thousands of Chinese did only a generation ago. They fear neither flood nor epidemic. They do not even fear war, as Mao Tse-tung told me. War for China is a "Paper Tiger." China can defend itself and back of China stands the unassailable might of the Soviet Union.

ENVY AND CLASS HATE is disappearing in China. Does your neighbor have better pay and higher position than you? He has this because of greater ability or better education, and more education is open to you and compulsory for your children.

The young married couple do not fear children. The mother has pre-natal care. Her wage and job are safe. Nursery and kindergarten take care of the child and it is welcome, not to pampered luxury but to good food, constant medical care and education for his highest ability.

All this is not yet perfect. Here and there it fails, falls short and falters; but it is so often and so widely true, that China believes, lives on realized hope, follows its leaders and sings:

"O, Mourner, get up offa your knees."

The women of China are free. They wear pants so that they can walk, climb and dig; and climb and dig they do. They are not dressed simply for sex indulgence or beauty parades. They occupy positions from ministers of state to locomotive engineers, lawyers, doctors, clerks and laborers. They are escaping "household drudgery"; they are strong and healthy and beautiful not simply of leg and false bosom but of real brain and brawn.

In Wuhan, I stood in one of the greatest steelworks of the world. A crane which moved a hundred tons loomed above. I said, "My God, Shirley, look up there!" Alone in the engine-room sat a girl with ribboned braids, running the vast machine.

YOU WON'T BELIEVE this, because you never saw anything like it; and if the State Department has its way, you never will. Let **Life** lie about communes; and the State Department shed crocodile tears over ancestral tombs. Let Hong Kong wire its lies abroad. Let "Divine Slavery" persist in Tibet until China kills it. The truth is there and I saw it.

America makes or can make no article that China is not either making or can make, and make better and cheaper. I saw its export exposition in Canton: a whole building of watches, radios, electric apparatus, cloth in silk and wool and cotton; embroidery, pottery, dishes, shoes, telephone sets. There were five floors of goods which the world needs and is buying in increasing quantities, except the ostrich United States, whose ships rot.

Fifteen times I have crossed the Atlantic and once the Pacific. I have seen the world. But never so vast and glorious a miracle as China.

S. F. Guardian Banquet to hear Fritchman June 28

REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, progressive minister of the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles, will be the featured speaker at the Annual Banquet of subscribers and friends of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, to be held in San Francisco Sunday, June 28.

Rev. Fritchman recently attended the Tenth Congress of the World Council of Peace in Stockholm, and his subject, "Stockholm Calling," will be a report on the Council meetings.

The Gate Five Trio will entertain at the affair, which will be held at the Third Baptist Church, 1399 McAllister St. A chicken cacciatore dinner will be served beginning at 5 p.m. Reservations may be made through Clarence Vickland, Northern California representative of the Guardian, at 3936 Canon Av., Oakland 2.

A FIRST-HAND REPORT ON TOKYO TODAY

Japan 'Westernizes' but retains its ancient pride

By John G. Roberts
Special to the Guardian

TOKYO

ON THE SHIP, Americans in the know told us: "Don't waste much time in Tokyo; it isn't the **real** Japan." First sight bore them out. Dirtier than Chicago, uglier than Brooklyn, with bumpy streets and squalid housing sprawled among industrial jungles, the Yokohama approach made Japan's capital seem only a likely place to catch a train for picturesque Kyoto or Nara.

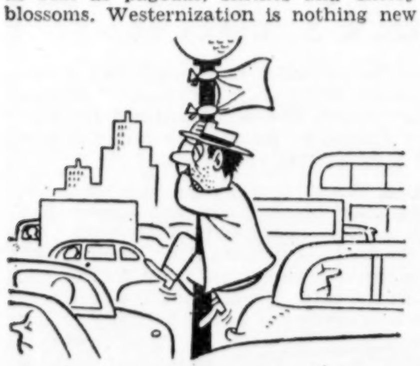
Our musical theme was "Three Coins in the Fountain," played on taxi radios by courtesy of the U. S. Armed Forces against the roar and blare of barbarous traffic. (Zooming Japanese auto production has brought Tokyo the world's highest accident rate.) Despite a frantic construction program, bombed-out areas persist among new buildings which, sometimes imaginative, are more often grotesque and mutilated by huge electric signs.

TV AND SUPERMAN: Brooding behind walls or barbed wire are many compounds where barracks, motor-pools, PX's and officers' clubs have been abandoned by the unwept Occupation. Paint peels from bilingual signs: Off Limits; Restricted Area; No Loitering, By Order of the CO. Neighboring pawnshops, VD clinics and bars have fallen on evil days. Street signs in Roman letters and Arabic numerals remain as a monument to American know-how, but the obstinate Tokyoites insist upon their own nomenclature and numbering system. Our driver had to consult a map, two policemen and a mail carrier to find a well-known inn, and then we were turned away, ostensibly because of the language difficulty.

After being cold-shouldered by several other Japanese-style hostelries we took refuge in Asia Center, a new and rigorously occidental lodging for technical trainees invited from "free" Asia to share the secrets of defeated Japan's industrial resurgence.

On the first night we saw several Asian guests, seated in modern chairs with crocheted antimacassars, watching TV raptly. We, too, were students of Japanese progress; joining them, we were treated to an old "Superman" film. But it was broadcast from the World's Highest television tower; (the name, in Japanese, is "Tokyo Tower" and it's 333 meters high).

OLD PROCESS: This was not the mysterious East we had come so far west to see. Yet, as we kept postponing our trip to fabled Kyoto we became convinced that this facet of Japan was just as **real** as pagodas, shrines and cherry blossoms. Westernization is nothing new



Vie Nuove, Rome

here, of course. It began with the Perry expedition in 1853 and the Meiji restoration in 1868, and went unchecked until shortly before the Pacific War.

The rulers of feudal Japan awakened to realize that centuries of isolation had made them vulnerable, and that they must learn the ways of the modern world or be overrun. Japan bought her independence by accepting certain social and economic norms, permitting stronger nations to open up profitable trade without enforced vassalage. Unlike other Asian nations, consequently, Japan was able to share the benefits of commerce and industrialize with its own capital.

Photo: Consulate General of Japan, New York

THE JAPANESE LOVE FIREWORKS AS MUCH AS AMERICANS DO—AND HAD THEM FIRST

Above is a 200-year-old annual display in Tokyo that rivals any Fourth of July celebration in the U. S.

Japan's only military defeat was the result of deviating from the policy of cooperation with the West. And conversely, being on America's side in the Cold War has helped to repair most of the material damage of World War II.

After a tussle with MacArthur's draconian but idealistic anti-trust laws, the great cartels have been reestablished under American technical and financial auspices. The many-tentacled **zaibatsu** (Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo), presumably as dead as Tojo, have become once more (thanks to the Korean War) the sinews and probably the brains of capitalist Japan. It follows, then, that the beefed-up Westernization we see today is not merely the congenital imitativeness of a quaint and childlike people.

RUNAWAY DRIVE: But, whereas the process used to be an orderly national policy, it has now become almost a mania, particularly among the youth. In any street, children playing hop-scotch, leap-frog or jump-rope are in constant peril not only from automobiles, three-wheel trucks and motorcycles but from flying baseballs. The National Sport has invaded temple gardens and even Shinto graveyards. Except at home, European clothes are standard for men and usual for younger women, who feel themselves hampered and disfigured by the kimono. Cafes, French style, are fashionable. **Sake** is spurned in favor of whiskey or beer (Japanese and excellent).

Businessmen negotiate transactions on the golf course rather than in teahouses, and geisha girls neglect the tea-ceremony to master a chip shot with the No. 3 iron. On a subway we saw a man in kimono and **geta,** carrying his golf bag. Pinball and bingo parlors are the poor man's clubs; comic books are the principal reading of younger children; housewives weep over soap-operas. Japan is the world's No. 1 film producer, but the Hollywood product is more popular. Heeding the competition, Japanese film makers have made crime pay; and the acceptance of American war pictures is also having its effect on the industry.

THE AMERICAN WAY: Looking for some authentic entertainment one evening, we were guided to a club called "Keyboard." It turned out to be a rock'-n'roll joint where teen-agers, garbed like their American prototypes, listened reverently to a combo of **ersatz** Presleys. But they did not get hysterical. They did not even applaud. We noticed that the girl next to us had two books before her: **Hot Jazz Album** and **How to Use Better English.**

These were not wild, irresponsible kids; they were students of the American Way. Japanese youngsters are eager and unflagging pen-pals, but as for Americans in the flesh, the people show little interest. There is more of caution than hostility, but not much friendliness except from those who cater to the American trade.

Inevitably, the modern taste of the young people has brought them into conflict with the older generation. Postwar dislocations, limited opportunities and the effects of the occupation have brought mass rebellion, and the most frequent theme in the popular media (except crime) is the problem of reconciling the outlooks of parents and children to preserve the family unit.

MANY TASTES: Among the youth there is existentialism, nihilism, even an equivalent of the Beat Generation in the super-emancipated "Sun-tribe." However, most Japanese youth seem serious, diligent and mature in their interests. Very square. They do not dig Americana to the exclusion of their own culture, nor of the world's best. Bookstores are like the Christmas rush at Macys, jammed with students. Operas and concerts are boffo and classical records outsell popular tunes. Among the biggest circulation magazines are those of high literary quality and serious content.

The bewildering pastiche of Tokyo suggests that Japan is in the midst of an upheaval that will cause profound changes in the national character. Yet beneath the superficialities there is a strong current of cultural conservatism. Perhaps the people sense that the only hope of survival for their exploding population (now that aggression has failed) is competition in the international market place; and under present conditions, that means the West.

Industry, staking its existence on American aid and trade, encourages the orientation toward Western tastes and strives passionately to plumb the American psychology. Japanese imitation of American products does not denote lack of originality so much as the desperate need to export salable goods. Complaints by U. S. manufacturers about the rising flood of Japanese imports cause reciprocal anguish here, and tariffs are feared more than typhoons.

NUCLEAR POWER NEXT: Japanese junk goods are only a memory, and the impressive array of automated machinery, instruments and appliances at the May Tokyo Trade Fair indicates that the official export policies are paying off. In fact, Japan may be beating us at our own game. With West Germany, Japan is competing with U. S. industry, copping off huge contracts abroad. American oil companies buy super-tankers in Japan, and such firms as Motorola and International G. E. find it more profitable to put their labels on Japanese transistor radios than to buck Japan's cheap labor and technique.

But the U. S., still one up, exhibited at the Fair a real, hot nuclear reactor. It may seem anticlimactic to demonstrate the power of the atom so close to Hiroshima and Nagasaki; yet the exhibit was a hit. Unlike the U. S., Japan needs nuclear power badly. And she is going to have it soon: Reactors are already on order, and each of the big **zaibatsu** has its own nuclear corporation, in cooperation with each other and with the government's gently guiding AEC.

The Liberal Democratic (Tory) regime of Premier Kishi is seeking to remove legal obstacles to rearmament (imposed but regretted by the U. S.) and the "Self-Defense Forces" will inevitably have nuclear warheads unless the powerful labor-socialist bloc wins its fight.

THE CONCRETE PAGODA: Whatever the outcome, the Western tide may be ebbing. For a **zaibatsu**-dominated Japan with H-bombs will be no longer subservient to Washington; it will be a competing imperialism. And if the pacifist-neutralist forces prevail, the climate will be anything but auspicious for collaboration with the Cold War bloc. MacArthur landed in Japan under the mushroom cloud, and his successors bought their prestige with defense dollars and know-how. The pragmatic Japanese, making a virtue of necessity, are managing well enough in their truce with U. S. foreign policy and economic expansionism. But rather than inviting America to take over, the government has maintained barriers to Wall Street investments. Now Japan seems about ready to apply the lesson of the Nineteenth Century Meiji regime, that of parlaying subservience into independent power.

Is Japan then, really becoming Westernized? Beneath the business suits, the tight sweaters and mambo pants, the pixie hairdos and side-burns, the people are still deeply conscious of their heritage. And beneath their formal humility there burns a strong nationalist pride. They did not need the Oriental Exclusion Laws to teach them that they are Asians and that their future lies in Asia. Golf, strip-tease and Superman are by-products of a process, not the end product.

Many lovely shrines and pagodas were destroyed by American bombs; but the sites are not being used for hot-dog stands or drive-in theaters. They are being replaced with shrines and pagodas. And this time they are being built not from wood but from steel-reinforced concrete.

'ERNESTINE ROSE AND THE BATTLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS'

The greatest woman speaker of her time

THE FATE OF A SPEAKER is something like that of a singer, for when the voice is gone, all is gone. All recedes into memory and myth, and at best returns as a disembodied echo. So with the lovely Maria Malibran who brought Italian opera to New York in the early nineteenth century and so with Ernestine Rose who within ten years of her, arrived in America (in 1836) and became the greatest woman speaker of her day.

She "had a voice which at once arrested attention by its strength and melody." She spoke as if something inside her struck a chord of reason and flowed forth magnetically in the perfect union of emotion and judgment. She spoke above the roar of mobs and the storm of prejudice.

Frederick Douglass named her among "the best of mankind," and when Susan B. Anthony was asked to prepare a roll of honor of suffrage workers during the nineteenth century, she wrote: "Generally I should say begin with Mary Wollstonecraft as your first Great Champion —then Frances Wright—then Ernestine L. Rose . . ."

BUT THAT FINE speaker, Ernestine Rose, was not a writer. All her communication was direct and she spoke all her life extemporaneously. She kept no diary and very few letters of hers survive. She wrote only a handful of articles. A few of her speeches were jotted down in shorthand (then called phonography). In her old age when writing might have been natural for her, her fingers were arthritic and she denied appeals to her to write. And so, like a singer's, her voice was in danger of ending with her.

But the voice was allied with something more than melody and beauty. It lived with history and it made history. And it may in time be recognized as being part of the beauty of history.

Because it was of that unquestioned historic importance and because it had a certain special appeal—a voice of such unusual moral courage—it perhaps was fated to be rescued from its myth. With a grant from the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs, but mainly as a self-assignment of resurrection, Yuri Suhl undertook to do a biography of Mrs. Rose. He was particularly fitted to do the book. Like Mrs. Rose, he was a Jewish emigrant from Poland. Unlike her, he is both a public speaker and a writer.

IN THE FIVE YEARS in which he worked on the book, whatever the discouragement, whatever the lack of documentation, I can imagine he was held by a presence, as if from the air the slightly foreign accent and the melody and force of reason reshaped itself and insistently urged itself upon him. Reading his book, one knows that fine influence and knows how it must have lived with him until it possessed him, and through him it repossesses some part of the America Mrs. Rose loved.

Ernestine Louise Potowski was born in 1810 in Piotrkov, Poland, in the Jewish Ghetto. At five she questioned God. At 14 she questioned the prayer daily said by men: "I thank thee Lord that Thou has not created me a woman." At 16 she challenged her father, a rabbi, who wanted to marry her off without her consent. She had an inheritance that her father made into a dowry and made forfeit if she refused to marry. She refused, but appealed to the Polish courts, argued on her own behalf and got her property reassigned to her. Victorious in her principles, she turned the property over to her father and a year later, at 17, she left home.

In England, she became the personal friend and protégée of Robert Owen and married a fellow-Owenite, William Rose. Owen launched her as a public speaker and she was already known for her sincere and passionate oratory before she came to this country.

SHE CAME HERE in 1836 with her husband. Just as in Europe, here in the "land of the free" she found woman enslaved. A woman had no property of her own once she married; she could not sue independently in a court of law; she had no right to her children if she and her husband separated; and if she worked, her husband could claim her wages. A woman could be taxed, but could not vote. She was her husband's chattel.

Almost at once, Mrs. Rose began to speak in public although for a woman to do such a thing was almost unheard of. Before her, there had been only one foreign woman lecturer in America, Frances Wright. Such was Ernestine's attraction that in her first year she was lecturing to audiences of one and two thousand; and in 1837, she debated continuously for 13 straight weeks, taking on one male opponent after another.

The only difference between her and Frances Wright was that Frances was called a "red harlot of infidelity" and Ernestine a "woman a thousand times below a prostitute." With bristling side curls and irresistable poise, she spoke against the subjection of woman. Her pure voice rode out over the tides of invective and fury. She took no fees for her work. Helped by her husband, she gave herself utterly and selflessly.

A PORTRAIT OF ERNESTINE ROSE DONE IN 1857
"The human race is elevated in excellence and power or kept back in progression in accordance with the scale of woman's position in society."

SHE WAS THE FIRST to go from door to door soliciting signatures for women's rights. In five months in 1836 she got five signatures for a married woman's property bill. She was satisfied. She had begun. The signatures she and others got in later years rolled up to the thousands and tens of thousands and finally swept through legislation partially equalizing the rights of the sexes.

She fought side by side with Frederick Douglass against slavery, at times speaking on the same platform with him.

She became the greatest woman speaker of her time, The Queen of the Platform. And always there was a directness and simplicity and melody of logic. She made it clear always that she hated the thing, not the person. She outrode prejudice by sheer human force and she acted. She was never still, never withdrew from doing in support of the truth what needed to be done.

DECADES OF CAMPAIGNING broke her health. She retired from public speaking, but sometimes she would rise unrecognized from an audience when women's rights were being attacked and the unparalleled power would loose itself again.

She went back to England to try to recover her health. There her husband died and there she lived, still ill, lonely, dreaming of America, but unwilling to leave the place where her husband was buried. There she died in 1892. By then she had begun to be forgotten.

I can imagine Yuri Suhl as he went to records, to the contemporary phonography, and to that full, strong face flanked by its phantom curls. I can imagine him listening for that voice. It has tracked him down as it tracked down the men and women of her time and subjected them to its reason. He has heard that voice and he has made it live.

—**Millen Brand**

**ERNESTINE ROSE and the Battle for Human Rights, by Yuri Suhl. Reynal & Co., 221 E. 49th St., New York 17, N.Y. 310 pp., bibliography & index. $5.75.*

Emma Lazarus and the poet's torch

CURIOUSLY, the woman poet and crusader whose memorial societies made possible Yuri Suhl's biography of Ernestine Rose, seems herself to have been unaware of the notable figure during whose greater life span Emma Lazarus lived out her own few fervent years. Yet one may reasonably conclude that the pioneering of the older woman helped make possible the better-known career of the younger.

Privately tutored and carefully sponsored by an admiring father, Emma Lazarus had her first book of poems published by Houghton & Co. when she was 17, received the praises of William Cullen Bryant at 18 and, while still a teen-ager, met and carried on a correspondance with Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Yet though she visited Emerson at Concord, walked with Thoreau's biographer, William Ellery Channing; corresponded with the naturalist, John Burroughs; met (and deflated!) the pretentious Bronson Alcott; she was herself dissatisfied with her own work, praised and encouraged by all the greats. She had, she felt, accomplished "nothing that the world could not equally well do without."

EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN, the editor who a dozen years after her death in 1887 published the first anthology to include her works, suggested to her while she was still in her twenties that she consider her own heritage as a source of themes. She at first repelled the idea: "Hebrew ideals do not appeal to me." But soon her eager mind was searching into Jewish lore. Her poetry found new meaning "with Moses' law and David's lyre." In her "Banner of the Jews," Whittier heard "the ring of Israel's war trumpets." Soon she was writing "Songs of a Semite" and translating the poems of Heine.

Soon, too, she was deeply involved in the plight, first of Jewish immigrants to America, then of all immigrants. This concern in 1883 produced the climax of her work (though certainly not her finest poem) in "The New Colossus," written in testimonial to the new Statue of Liberty destined for New York Harbor and now engraved on the Statue's pedestal. She died of cancer in New York in 1887 at age 38.

TWO BIOGRAPHIES of Emma Lazarus are now available, both the work of the contemporary poet and author, Eve Merriam. Miss Merriam gives credit to Morris U. Schappes for rescuing the poetry of Emma Lazarus from dusty publications of a half century ago, in his works published in 1944 and 1949. To Miss Merriam must go the credit for bringing the poet herself to life, as she does so warmly and enthusiastically in her two current works, one written especially for young people.

In the adult volume, **Emma Lazarus, Woman with a Torch,*** Miss Merriam finds many new insights in the poet's works as related to her arduous life and interests (she even wrote a sonnet to Henry George, "Progress and Poverty," which the N.Y. **Times** published in 1881).

The young people's biography, **The Voice of Liberty,**** while not as generous in poetic excerpts, is a lively story of life in old New York and, of course, an ardent appreciation of a young woman whose proud head could not be turned from high purpose by flattery and ease.

—**John T. McManus**

**EMMA LAZARUS, Woman with a Torch, by Eve Merriam. Citadel Press, N.Y., 160 pp. $2.75. (By special arrangement, copies may be obtained for $1.75 from the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 49 E. 21 St., New York 10.)*

***THE VOICE OF LIBERTY, by Eve Merriam. Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 101 Fifth Av., N.Y. 3. 179 pp. $2.95.*

THE READERS WRITE

Pro and con about books

The Pavlovists

PROVIDENCE, R.I.

We are grateful for the review of **Thank You, Dr. Lamaze** (May 11). The obstetrician we used had never heard of the Pavlov method, so we lent him our copy of the book until he could get one.

D. & I. S.

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CHICAGO, ILL.

Contrary to the statements of Mrs. Karmel (according to your review of her book **Thank You, Dr. Lamaze**, the Read method of natural childbirth does involve "a whole series of physical and mental techniques," and does not involve merely an "emotional force."

Moreover, from published accounts, and from accounts which I have heard personally and in complete detail, of many experiences with the Read method, from the women themselves, it is quite impossible that there could be any respect in which the method which is said to derive from Pavlov could be superior to it.

Thirdly, there appears to be no mention whatever of childbirth in the published papers of Pavlov on conditioned reflexes. The impression has always been practically inescapable that the so-called Pavlov method is, in origin, wholly an unacknowledged adaptation of the Read method, furnished with Pavlovian interpretations.

Soviet Pavlovists also claim the derivation of prolonged sleep therapy from Pavlov. Yet it had been practiced through the 1800's, and had been given its first systematic exploration in the early 1920's by the Swiss psychiatrist Klasi — and had been known in the U.S.S.R. long before the claim of the enterprising Pavlovists.

W.R.

Philosophers' rumble

SEATTLE, WASH.

Albert E. Blumberg, in your May 18 issue, gives a thoroughly misleading review of **A Philosopher Looks at Science**, by Prof. John G. Kemeny. He identifies Kemeny with the school of "logical analysis." This is not the

name used by academicians. "Positivism" or "logical positivism" are the usual designations. It is false to claim worthwhile results in any field for this system: there is simply nothing to show for it. There is every reason to doubt its results in social sciences, natural sciences, logic, ethics and social issues; and not just for lack of application in these fields. It is correct to say that this method does nothing but defend the status quo in all inquiry—even in science.

Prof. Kemeny is a good example of a confused scholar and a brilliant misleader. His nonsense about pure science and pure mathematics, which Blumberg accepts, is a part of this brilliant — and meaningless — technique, a glorification of ivory-tower science. Kemeny is one of the foremost exponents of a mechanistic social science, based on statistical inference and probability statements — dearly beloved by psychologists, sociologists and economists in the advertising racket. He co-authored **Introduction to Finite Mathematics**, designed to brainwash students in favor of probability statements of human behavior.

I doubt if Prof. Kemeny's book is a major contribution to the philosophy of science. All the quotations in the review sound like the same lame old pap warmed over.

Hiram Chittenden

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DETROIT, MICH.

I question the implications of some of Blumberg's statements. He says: ". . . . there is no doubt that significant results have been obtained by the logical analysis of mathematics, the natural sciences and of logic itself." What are these significant results? Those logical empiricists that I have read have been experts at turning real questions about real and controversial issues into hair-splitting analyses of the meaning of words, with the inevitable conclusion that the real problem itself does not exist. This is the opinion of two scientists who are also philosophers of science as well, at polar extremes of the political spectrum: J. D. Bernal and M. Polanyi.

Says Bernal: "The immense labors of mathematical logicians and positivists have been barren of results in the natural sciences. The great advances that have been made in this century were achieved by experiment, explicitly or implicitly materialistic, and closely linked with fully material techniques . . . in the social field the message of positivist philsophy has been even more conspicuously negative." (**Science in History**, p. 816).

Says Polanyi, an objective idealist and unequivocal champion of capitalist society: "The study of linguistic rules is used as a pseudo-substitute for the study of the things referred to in its terms." Science, he says, has been reduced by the positivists to the rank of "a convenient contrivance, a device for recording events and computing their future course." His recent book, **Personal Knowledge**, is a long polemic primarily against the logical empiricists in science.

Hugo Beiswenger

Whale fancier

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Thank you for bringing us your review of Delmar Molarsky's wonderfully funny and meaningful novel, **The Woman and the Whale.**

We have just read the book and have not laughed so heartily in a long time. The resourcefulness of the people in defeating their Spanish fascist mayor is both hilarious and inspiring.

E.B.S.

Sobell meetings in N. Y. & L. A.

DR. HORACE KALLEN, Professor of Philosophy at the New School for Social Research, will speak at a meeting for Morton Sobell on Friday, June 19, at 8 p.m. at Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th St., New York City. Thomas I. Emerson of Yale Law School will be chairman.

The meeting will also hear Murray Branch, Professor of Religion at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga.

Admission to the meeting is by contribution of $1. Tickets may be obtained at the New York Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, telephone AL 4-9983

OTHER ACTIONS: The Sobell Committee announced that Rev. Erwin Gaede has completed a tour of the Midwest during which he spoke with clergymen and editors on behalf of Morton Sobell. Rev. Gaede is one of the initiators of an appeal to President Eisenhower by clergymen of all faiths for freedom for Sobell or a new trial.

In Phoenix, Ariz., the **Jewish News** reprinted an editorial from the Portland **Oregonian** likening the Sobell and Sacco and Vanzetti cases.

In Los Angeles during the weekend of June 26-28, delegates from Sobell committees in 15 western cities and British Columbia will meet to form a Western Regional Sobell Committee.

On Saturday night, June 27, a banquet will be held in support of the Sobell Freedom Campaign. Reservations are $10 per person and may be obtained from the Los Angeles committee, 462 N. Western Av., L.A., telephone HOllywood 4-4725.

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Plan NOW to Attend the
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Sunday, June 28, to Hear
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the progressive minister of the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles, just returned from the World Peace Congress, will report on
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A treasure trove

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Thanks and congratulations for your excellent Spring Book Issue (May 4). In it I have already found any number of books I would like to have, and a great many (really too many) that I must have. In ordering I will, of course, mention the GUARDIAN article or advertisement which prompted my order.

Ned K. Hopkins

Little Rock vote

(Continued from Page 1)

action. Another teacher group resolved that no teacher should sign a new contract unless all signed.

THE ALTERNATIVES: Though STOP emphasized that the only issue in the special election was the teacher purge, Everett Tucker Jr., school board vice-president and spokesman for the moderates, told a cheering public meeting: "We are faced with two alternatives—some degree of integration in the public schools, or segregation and no public schools at all."

At the high school level that's what Little Rock has had—no public schools at all—since Gov. Faubus closed down four institutions last September to avoid enforcement of a court-ordered gradual integration plan.

The initiative was not all in the hands of the moderates. The highly vocal Mrs. Margaret Jackson, president of the Mothers League of Central High, and leaders of the Capital [White] Citizens' Council combined to form CROSS, the Committee

Stockett, Afro-American
Speaking of Bayonets!

to Retain Our Segregated Schools, and collected signatures for the recall of Tucker and his two like-minded board members, Ted Lamb and Russell Matson.

ENTER MR. SWIFT: With the election scheduled for May 25 and all six board posts at stake, the campaign soon reached a fever pitch. The segregationists attempted to belittle the purge issue and emphasized that integration—and that alone—was what the contest was all about. They brought in for their meetings two of the most active Congressional pitchmen for jimcrow, Reps. Dale Alford of Little Rock and John Bell Williams of Mississippi.

When they invited Wesley A. Swift, an ex-bodyguard of Gerald L. K. Smith, to address their opening rally, their tactics began to boomerang. Even the Americanism Committee of the American Legion couldn't swallow Swift, whom it called a "former Klansman, well-known rabble rouser and the West Coast's most vicious hate-monger." After this exposure Swift was quickly disinvited.

FAUBUS STEPS IN: An ad in the Arkansas **Democrat** added to the segregationists' troubles. The ad listed among the reasons for the teacher firings "immorality, incompetence, want of professional capacity and unprofessional conduct." Thirty-nine teachers promptly filed a suit asking $3,900,000 material and punitive damages for slander and defamation of character.

With his supporters on the defensive throughout, Gov. Faubus ignored an earlier pledge not to intervene. In the final days of the compaign he made two statewide TV appearances in support of the segregationists. He claimed that "prominent and wealthy leaders" were trying to force integration on Negroes and "honest white people of the middle and lower classes." Integration would pass, he said, "only by trampling over my prostrate form." And he added the argument which for 22 months has been his clincher in the Little Rock crisis: violence would erupt unless the people voted his way.

A SOLID LICKING: But even as he spoke, Faubus intimated he realized the odds were against him. He described the election as "only one engagement in a continuing conflict."

When the dust had settled and the ballots were counted, the Governor and his cohorts had taken a licking across the board: all three segregationist schoolmen were unseated, the three moderates retained.

The vote in each case was close but decisive. The mobilization of the Negro electorate by Mrs. Daisy Bates and other NAACP workers bore heavily on the results. Tucker settled the teacher question quickly by announcing that, so far as he was concerned, the instructors had never really been fired.

But the matter of resuming an integrated program at Central High and other schools in the district could not so easily be resolved. First, the three ousted members of the school board must be replaced by appointment by the Pulaski County Board of Education. Where this five-man body stands on integration is anybody's guess.

COURT RULING SOON: Further, the legality of three laws under which Faubus shut down the schools last September is under consideration by a three-judge panel of the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals and an early decision is expected. In April the Arkansas Supreme Court validated the laws, but if the Federal judiciary throws them out the new school board will be under order to proceed with integration.

'They told us to go to hell'

There were four new developments in the New York hospital strike last week: (1) the two top leaders of Local 1199, Hospital Division AFL-CIO, 300 W. 45th St., New York City, were sentenced to 15 days in jail on a charge of contempt of an anti-strike injunction in Brooklyn; (2) a second union, Local 144 of the Hotel and Allied Service Employes Union, threatened to walk out of seven non-voluntary hospitals; shortly after the hospital managements agreed to a representation election; (3) Mayor Wagner appointed a three-man fact-finding panel to seek a way out of the impasse caused by the hospital managements' refusal to negotiate; (4) workers at nine more voluntary hospitals warned that they would walk out if the hospitals continued to reject negotiations. Last weekend visitors at the struck hospitals were handed leaflets by pickets of Local 1199 containing the following message:

WE WHO ARE ON STRIKE HERE want to explain why we were compelled to take such drastic action, and to apologize for the inconvenience and difficulties the patients may be undergoing. We want to state as strongly as we know how that the strike was forced upon us by the management of this hospital; that they and they alone are responsible for the strike—and that the strike can end in a matter of minutes if the management of the hospital would act like decent, reasonable human beings.

Our wages are so low that you probably can't believe workers in New York City in the year 1959 could be so exploited: Thousands of us hospital workers receive $32 and $34 a week. You know that a single person can't get along on that kind of money, let alone a whole family. Hundreds of us must get relief from the Welfare Department to feed our families, even though we have full-time jobs.

WE DID EVERYTHING HUMANLY POSSIBLE to avoid this strike. We asked the management to meet with our representatives—they told us to go to hell. We asked for mediation, arbitration, conciliation—anything to resolve the issues. They refused. Mayor Wagner proposed a fact-finding committee and we accepted. The management refused. They turned down Mrs. Roosevelt, Senator Lehman, Senator Javits, Mrs. Albert Lasker, Councilman Isaacs, Congressman Emanuel Celler, Rev. Ralph D. Sockman, Rabbi Eugene Lipman and Rabbi Edward E. Klein. They insulted and spurned us; they refuse to meet with us to discuss our miserable wages. They act as if they are God, and we are dirt under their feet. We had no recourse but to strike for our rights as Americans and human beings, and for the welfare of our families.

YOU CAN HELP END THE STRIKE: Speak to the management at the hospital. Ask them to accept the Mayor's proposal for a fact-finding committee to examine the issues, and make recommendations. This strike can be over in minutes then, and we will be happy to go back to work serving the patients as before.

And then they all . . . . . . went out to dinner

A DINNER AT THE HOTEL ROOSEVELT of the Greater N. Y. Hospital Assn., in connection with Natl. Hospital Week and New York Hospital Day, coincided with the hospital strike. The strikers got hold of an advance dinner menu somewhere and pickets at the hotel entrance greeted 350 hospital executives with a leaflet headed: "Bon appetit! Ladies and Gentlemen. . ."

The leaflet listed the pre-dinner cocktail menu of assorted hot and cold hors-d'oeuvres including devilled eggs, celery stuffed with Roquefort cheese, smoked salmon and lake sturgeon, hot clams Casino, franks in blankets, fried jumbo shrimp, cornet of Genoa salami and hot cheese barquettes; and a dinner consisting of Caprice of selected fresh fruit Grenadine, decorated galax leaves served in silver, petite marmite with golden cheese straws, hearts of celery with ripened olives, roast prime ribs of beef au just, nested brequet potatoes, asparagus spears Hollandaise, salad Printemps with quartered tomatoes in dressing, crown of rum & raisin ice cream, brandy nectarine flambe, petit fours, lady fingers and demi-tasse. Price $8.75 per person plus additional charges for liquor, tips, etc.

"We feed our families for a whole week for that amount or even less," said the leaflet, detailing a striker family's menu of rice, beans, powdered milk, potatoes and "other cheap and filling foods," with once or twice a week hot dogs, hamburgers or bologna or other meats "we're sure you never ate," such as pig jowls, chitterlings, ham hocks, neck bones, etc.

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Am everlastingly grateful for the good book, **The Power Elite.** My copy, as with all my literature, never stops with me. It will be carefully circulated among selected friends.

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We're filling up—rush your reservation!
Our new filtered swimming pool is a hit! And you'll like our line-up of summer entertainment with Phil Leeds, Leon Bibb, Dolores Martin, Elly Stone, Bhaskar and others.
The rates are a hit too! Only $42.50 weekly, up, for delicious meals, swimming, tennis, volley ball, handball, etc. Folk and square dancing. Arts and crafts. Day Camp. Night Patrol.
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SPECIAL SUNDAY TRIAL OFFER — SPEND ALL DAY SUNDAY, PLUS 7-Course Steak Dinner $3
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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

JOE POLOWSKY reports on Elbe Vets' visit to USSR, meetings with Khrushchev, Mikoyan. Fri., June 19, 8:30 p.m., Baskers' 5010 Jarlath, Skokie. Cont. $1. Refreshments.

TRIBUTE TO REV. WILLIAM T. BAIRD Sat., June 13—32 W. Randolph, Parlor B. Buffet supper 7 p.m., program 8:30. Address by Pearl Hart, songs by Osborne Smith. For reservations call WE 9-3552. Don. $2. Sponsor: Friends of Rev. Baird.

PHILADELPHIA

Emergency Rally
"HALT DIXIECRAT & REACTIONARY ATTACK ON SUPREME COURT DECISIONS"
Hear: STRINGFELLOW BARR, educator, fighter for the Bill of Rights
HARVEY O'CONNOR, author, world traveler, foe of Un-American Comm.
Adelphi Hotel, Chestnut at 13, Cont. $1.
FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 8:30 p.m. Sponsors: Phila. Associates, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

CONRAD LYNN discusses Mississippi lynching of Mack Parker & reports on trial of Robert Williams of NAACP, Sat., June 20, 8:30 p.m., 5730 Virginian Rd. Auspices: Philadelphia Friends of The Guardian.

NEW YORK

FULL STEAM AHEAD!
Guardian Boat Ride,
Friday evening, June 12
(See ad page 9)
BRING THE GANG!

Come to the Hungarian Picnic! SUNDAY, JUNE 7, International Park 814 E. 225 St., Bronx, nr. White Plains Rd. Subway. Good Hungarian food, Music, Dancing, lots of fun for everybody. Don. 75c. Ausp: Hungarian Press Comm.

FAMILY PICNIC at CAMP MIDVALE Midvale, N.J. SUN., JUNE 21 Refreshments, entertainment, swimming pool. Transportation by bus & car, 1½ hrs. NYC. Ausp: Labor Press Comm. Cont. $1. Tickets: Guardian office, Jefferson Book Store.

Join the friends of
NELL & TONY CATTONAR
in a spaghetti dinner
Sunday, June 14, 4 p.m. to???
Polonia Club, 201 2 Av.
Cont. $1.50, children 75c. Entertainment.

MEMORIAL MEETING
AUGUSTA BERLER
Fri., June 12, 8:30 p.m.
Hotel Beacon, Silver Rm. (air cond.)
Broadway & 75 St.
Ausp: West Side Community Club

ANNUAL BAZAAR
Brighton Community Center
3200 Coney Island Av., Brooklyn, June 5, 6, 7th. Bargains galore, home cooking served all 3 days. Bring your friends and patronize our bazaar.

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Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N.Y.

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"No"—says George Breitman, former editor, The Militant
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UPHOLSTERY CRAFTSMAN RE-WEBBING & REPAIRS—done in your home: Reupholstery, slip covers, drapes foam rubber cushioning. Serving all boros. Fraternal attention. HY 8-7887

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BROADWAY'S THOROUGH CLEANSING to add Beauty and Lustre to your rugs. We get the deep down dirt! $6.95 for 9-12 Domestic incl. Summer Storage.
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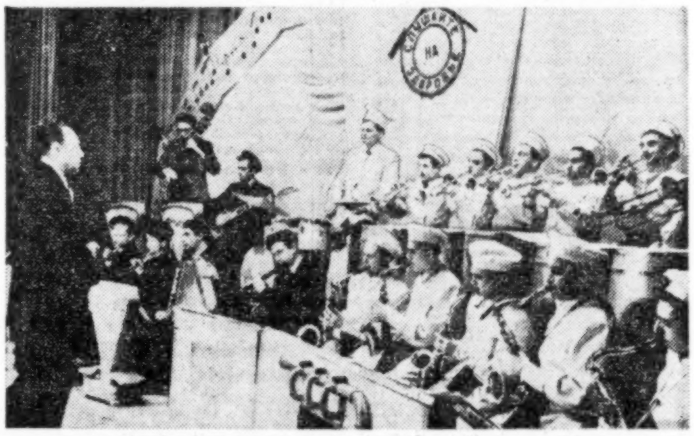
THE GALLERY

DEATHS FROM LEUKEMIA have tripled in the last quarter-century, according to the American Cancer Society. Currently, 11,000 Americans die of the disease every year; of these 2,000 are under 15 years old. The Society says the reasons for the increased rate are not presently known, but it believes that some of these factors may be responsible: radiation (natural background, medical X-rays and atomic fallout), viruses, emotional stress and hormone imbalance. . . . In his recently published book, **The St. Lawrence Seaway**, former Canadian Transport Minister Lionel Chevrier says that President Eisenhower in 1955 said to him: "You know, it seems ridiculous. We both speak the same language. We think alike. We behave the same. Don't you think you would be better off as the 49th State?" Chevrier adds: "Some people might say that the President was joking when he made that remark, but those of us who have dealt with our friends on the other side of the border know he was not." . . . Pope John XXIII decreed that Roman Catholics may eat meat on May Day, which fell on Friday this year . . . Sales of **The Rabbits' Wedding** have boomed since the book was removed from Alabama's public libraries because one bunny was black and another white. Harper & Brothers, publishers, have rushed into another printing.

MAIL CHUTES in the $25,000,000 new Senate office building had to be opened and repaired a few days after being put into use because rough edges jammed up letters half way down. But soon after they were repaired, they had to be closed again. According to Capitol Architect J. George Stewart (who is not an architect, but used to be a Republican State Chairman) the trouble is "negative air pressure" in the sub-basement. When a Senate aide drops a letter in a slot on an upper floor, it is sucked from his hand with such force that it zooms down the chute and bounces off a conveyor belt in the sub-basement. Mail is strewn over the sub-basement floor. In asking for a $70,000 appropriation to "redesign and revamp" the mail system, Phil Roof, Stewart's assistant, explained: "It is apparently just a simple case of the original design being inadequate." The Senators approved the appropriation . . . Kinapanarama, the Russian version of Cinerama, will be shown in a New York theater this summer. At the same time, at the Moscow Fair, Walt Disney's Circarama will be shown. It is a 22-minute film narrated in Russian, presenting the "face of America." But the theme song, **America the Beautiful**, will be sung in English only . . . . The Florida House of Representatives passed the "Confederate Panty Bill" which provides a fine of $100 or 30 days in jail for misuse of the Rebel banner. The bill was sponsored by the United Daughters of the Confederacy after Laura Lou Kunnen appeared at a Clearwater tennis tournament with the Stars and Bars sewn on the seat of her pants.



THESE MUSCOVITE CATS ARE NO RED SQUARES
They are the Cooks and Salesmen's Jazz Band, celebrating their 25th anniversary of playing "Soviet and foreign jazz."

A BOSTON REAL ESTATE COMPANY is advertising homes for $11,900. But it says: "No Communists Allowed . . . Come see our homes in strictly American communities, just meant for American husbands and wives." . . . A work crew in San Diego, Calif., tried to leave Carl Hartnack's place after building a fence around it. But they couldn't—trapped inside the fence was their truck . . . The May 11-13 Asian and Pacific Dock Workers Conference in Japan, including representatives from the U.S., Japan, the U.S.S.R., Indonesia, Cambodia, Canada and Australia, voted for an end to nuclear weapons tests and a ban on the manufacture of A- and H-bombs. Louis Goldblatt, secy.-treasurer of the West Coast longshoremen and other delegates from other countries, were denied visas by the Japanese government. Harry Bridges led his union's delegation . —**Robert E. Light**

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TREAT COFFEE-SHOP RESTAURANT 752 Lexington Av. (opp. Bloomingdale's) Complete catering facilities & gourmet specialties for weddings, Bar Mitzvahs, business meetings, etc. available in greater metropolitan area. Spec. discount to Guardian readers. Phone: EL 5-8048.

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FROM INDIA: (Right) Lovely, light Madras cottons in multi-colored vertical stripes. Waist Sizes: 24-26-28-30-32 and 34. Colors: Predominantly gold, orange and black; bluish-green with rose and sand; yellow, brown and wine; red, black and gray; narrow, multi-color stripes with blue predominating. Specify size and color when ordering.

The GUARDIAN's new, low 1959 price $4.50

FROM GUATEMALA: (Left) Heavy, soft, hand-woven cottons, the same type we sold hundreds of last year for $10. Two models: all white embroidery on blue, red, turquoise or black; OR: multi-colored embroidery on navy, black, gray, brown or dark green. Sizes: 24-34 for dark colors (brown, black and navy); 24-30 in red; 24-32 all other colors.

1959 Price $9

India Print Bed Spreads

MADRAS: (Not illustrated). The same beautiful material of the skirts and aprons in throws and spreads (hemmed on ends only), in the same broad range of lovely colors.

64"x 90"	(Studio)	..$4.00
72"x108"	(Single)	..$5.00
90"x108"	(Double)	..$6.50

INDIA PRINTS: (Left) Indian copies of Persian originals on soft, light cotton. Picture designs or Paisleys on a cream background only. Two colors available: Predominantly blue and red, or green and red.

64"x 90"	(Studio)	..$2.75
72"x 90"	(Single)	..$3.00
72"x108"	(Full S'gle)	$3.50
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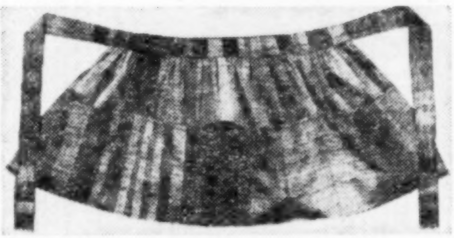

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Josephine

PARIS

JOSEPHINE REHEARSES. The Josephine Baker show that brings her back to the music hall stage after three years' absence is the talk of the town long before opening night. Like no other music hall show, this one is turning its gala opening night proceeds over to the International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism. Like no other music hall star, what has made Josephine Baker return to the theater after her 1956 farewell performance is not a desire for more success and new fame, but the financial strain of her work at Les Milandes. Les Milandes is the small Dordogne village where her ten adopted children—children of all continents and colors—are being raised together as living proof that people of different races, like members of one family, are meant to love and understand, not hate, one another.

Josephine—black tights, black belt, high-heeled black shoes, a silver white turban over her hair—rehearses a number with a young American dancer. She has the slim, supple body of a 20-year-old. She walks the way she dances. Her hands are extraordinary; they illustrate the music, show what the next step and the next figure ought to be like. Her young partner gets confused over a dance step. Josephine smiles; then, in French, to the conductor: "It's he who created that step. But as with all people who create, once it's done, it's all over. Now he can't remember any more." Then, turning to the young dancer: "Don't worry now. It's all going very well. It's working out fine." They start over again. The two figures dancing fill the place with excitement.

JOSEPHINE AND HUSBAND JOE BUILLON WITH 7 OF THE 10
The adopted kids are of all colors from all continents

TWO ELECTRICIANS stop working and watch.

"I am telling you, she is phenomenal," says one of the show's directors in a whisper. "She doesn't sleep. She doesn't rest. She has a will power and a power of absorption that are extraordinary. And what a complete artist! She plays on every string—lyric, tragic, comic—and always to perfection. I am 64 now, and I have known her for 34 years. There is no one like her."

There is a short break. Josephine comes down from the stage and begins talking about Les Milandes. She adopted her first child six years ago. There are ten children at Les Milandes today. The oldest, a 7-year-old boy, is a Korean. The youngest, one-year-old Mara, has just arrived from Caracas.

"The little ones stay at home with a nurse and a sister, and of course with my husband and me," says Josephine. "As soon as they are big enough, they go to village school. No special school or anything apart for them. The first thing we want them to become is sociable. And happy. I think . . . I hope they are. How does it all work out? Just as perfectly as it ought to. They adore one another.

HAVE I BEEN THE FIRST to think of bringing children of all races up together? I may have been the first to put the idea into practice, that's all. I am sure other people have thought of it before me. They may not have had the possibility of doing anything about it; they may not have had the money. Surely if one could look into the hearts and minds of people . . ."

The talk turns to the U.S., to the South in particular, where Josephine had experienced some difficulties on her anti-racial discrimination lecture tour a few years ago.

"There are changes now, and there will be more," says Josephine. "I am quite up on developments. How could I argue or lecture about them if I did not know about them? Things will get better; they are bound to. And in time they will get to be all right. But for the present, in a certain number of Southern states, most of my children could not even go to school: only the four white ones could, not the six others."

Rehearsal time is on again; Josephine gets up.

"It has been hard for me to go back to the stage—very, very hard," she says as she walks away.

"Are your children going to see you?"

She becomes suddenly very grave.

"They won't. They are in the country. I never mix up theater and family life." —Anne Bauer